[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 101 634 [619] Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six [132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I. [221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og, [233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba^{c} Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of [137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid [178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus- [172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
10 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[772] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanûdri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[976] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 10 634 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt, [172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida, [361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one penetrates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, obstructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the [103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic morest from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi [795] Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

133 172 634
133 172 634

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
174 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on
619 the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief,

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It$_{A}$ is divided as follows:

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Traditional ancestor	Subgroups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
	a. Daud.	a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A$_{A}$ [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave [176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Åbderrah'man u Messåud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Buimå, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Åbderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that [172] ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

312 /148/ A hundred séguias represent, for the Seksawa, a realization of considerable volume, although they might be only very rarely walled up. The Talh'archt of the a. Abdella crosses several aqueducts, one of which is eight meters high. It is so wide that each year, at the time of cleansing, the old amghar Ah'med u Lah'sen made a bundle of thorns float in it, from the intake to the ending, without its catching anywhere. The thing has remained proverbial. Sometimes, along a schistose wall, the conduit is conveyed overhanging, passes through tunnels under rock. Even the saints are used there. But neither the intake, a simple weir of dry stone, nor the line, which winds capriciously, for the current is left to do as it pleases, neither the crossing of the hollows, often reduced to a simple "gutter" of wood, lqend'ert, nor the basin of distribution, chcharij, which is frequently reduced to an uncemented hole, afraw -- none of all that is durable. An infiltration aided by the axial impact of the water on concave walls, the absorption by plants insufficiently cut down, finally numerous losses in a system in which the sluices are made and unmade by pickax, with a little mud: so many incessant deficiencies, the adding up of which soon makes the water dry up. Also
312 the abandoned séguias are numerous, notably in Moyen /Middle/
172 Seksawa, in the cursed sector which the a. Gasa formerly inhabited. One can follow at long intervals, as though fossilized on the slope, their network forever fruitless. The decadence of the fields, the petrification, if one may venture to say it, of all the countryside sanction neglect. There is nothing more melancholy. The native avoids reviving places that, according to him, are demoniac. He does not persist in repair. He gives up the place.

312 Thus the fragility of this whole agricultural infrastructure is great. It holds together only at the price of constant care. It is necessary to repair every instant what has not been built to endure and what it is nevertheless necessary to make endure. Veritable sieve of the Danaïdes, where the work of generations has been lost! Nothing is more proper to confer on this humanity at the same time as the idea of effort, that of its precariousness. An act of constant will is necessary to any survival. But this will is often wasted wrongfully, in the futility of perpetual repair.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than [175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did not take care. Among other archeological indications are [172] crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Bul^{c}wân]

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Besseba^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzûyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
● 172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the car-
172 rot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saïd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Abdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

[Mtugga]

133 /222 cont./ the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of 423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ- [172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

/239 cont./
776 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil
823 (1).

[172]

1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the [666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

1: Berque--645 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

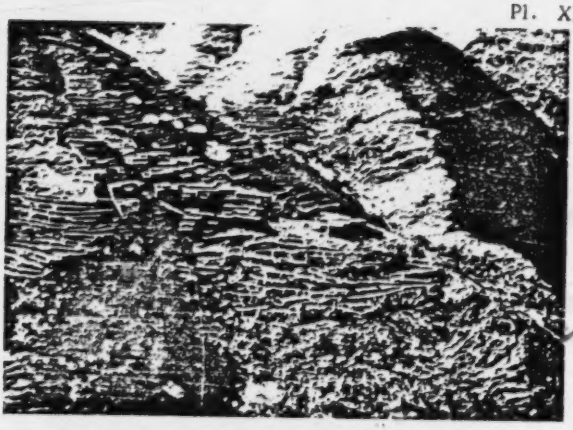
/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

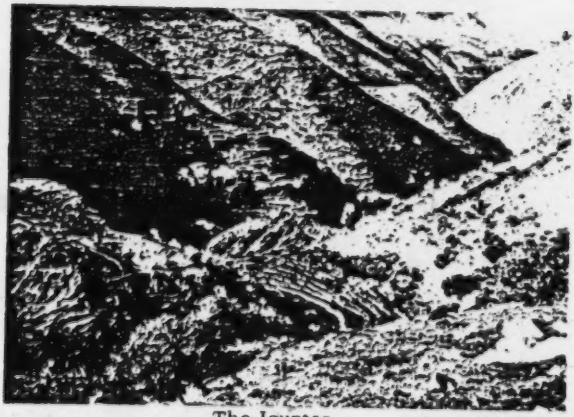
103
133
312
172
346
423
798

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[192] [712] [343] [487]

/86 cont./

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•[172)

/footnote 1 continued/ pp. 43-44. -- We believe we can identify "Culeihat el Muridin," the fortress of ᶜOmar Seyyaf, with the one that exists at Tameloukt among the Mtougga, 15 kilometers to the southeast of Bouaboud, at the place called "Agadir n Jorf." The site and distance in relation to Tasegdelt (Lalla Tasegdelt) from the map at 1/200,000 of the Service géographique du Maroc /Geographical Service of Morocco/ seem to us to correspond to the description by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, p. 155.

But other, less frenzied disciples were to gather up the religious heritage of the Imam el Jazouli. In the first years of the sixteenth century a whole flowering of saints appeared, whose role was above all to maintain the spirit of holy war against the Portuguese settled henceforth at Anfa, on the Tensift, at Agadir, and allied with the Arabs of the plains of the South. The most famous of these personages are Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed Es Sogheir el Amri, from an Arab tribe of the Sous, whose tomb is found in Marrakech, Abou Mohammed ᶜOmar Ajana, buried in the Sous plain at Tajemmelt near the Leben wadi; these saints, with Sheik ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz Et Tebbaᶜ, buried in Marrakech, were the masters of Jazoulism in the south of Morocco. Another honored "moujahid" /leader in the holy war/, killed in the struggle against the Christians or their Arab allies, was Sidi ᶜAbd el Malek Sbaᶜi, mortally wounded on the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho at the "Fortress of the Gold" and buried in the forest of Harjan, between the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud, "with /87/ the ax he used against the Christians" (1).

1. Tradition collected by F. de La Chapelle (unpublished note on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

/259 cont./

343
114

/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343
178

But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343
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In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Maᶜcho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

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In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.